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A FEMINIST POLITICS OF WOMEN IN POLITICS
by
Sara Mayhew Shumer: Visiting Professor,
University of California at Santa Cruz
GUEST EDITOR

The issue of women in politics is as complicated as is that of the entrance of any other disadvantaged and discriminated against group. And there is no question but that women have been oppressed and discriminated against in the same ways as "minority" groups--deprived not only of "equal opportunity" but also of an understanding of self as a capable actor in the world with its consequent self-confidence and self respect. There is the obvious point that it is unjust to exclude any individual from an activity solely because she or he is a member of a particular group and this should be overcome. But beyond this traditionally liberal gain do we have any right to expect a radical change in the quality of our political life from the increased participation of women (or Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans or the poor)? Can we expect a more humane politics from the heretofore excluded groups? Here the answers are more complicated and mixed.

Individual women (or Blacks, etc.) can be and have been easily absorbed into politics as now practiced. Women can and do move up through city or state party machines (the Mayor of San Francisco or of Chicago) and even occupy cabinet posts; they can and do vote for the candidates selected by the organizations that now dominate our political life. Granted they participate in proportionately fewer numbers, but those who do have no radical impact, their actions are not qualitatively different from those of men. If individuals move into positions of significant power, then it is because they already conform and are, by definition, acceptable. When women vote within the structures that define how power is currently organized and distributed, they merely confirm and further legitimize those arrangements. Accordingly, we should expect only more of the same as more women participate more fully within mainstream politics. Well, almost. There are bound to be some minor shifts

in issues and concerns as more people with those interests participate more. But, as we should have learned from the final success of the women's suffrage movement, even massive increases in participation by members of a group acting as individuals within the system can have no radical effect. Indeed, the women's movement of the Nineteenth Century understood this and saw the suffrage as an important tool but only a minor goal. Women like Sarah Grimke sought also abolition of slavery and a new society based on mutual respect among equals.

So, this pessimistic judgment is not all there is to be said. For there is always a radically liberating potential when any oppressed group begins to recognize its oppression and to fight against it. The potential is there for a feminist politics.

The first stage is what came to be known in the feminist movement as consciousness raising. Women found through sharing their experiences with each other that what they previously felt as personal inadequacies and private hurts were systematically induced and were failures of our basic institutions. They came to recognize as crippling, patterns of behavior, previously unseen or thought to be benign and in the inevitable nature of things. This in itself created the power to begin to change the ways of acting that reinforced for each other both negative self-perceptions and external limitations on action.

The next step was to find ways to demand changes to reflect, spread and consolidate the new understandings. An important on-going part of this project is the various attempts to reclaim a recognition of the historical importance of women in our past and their real and potential importance today. Another part is the various ways of mobilizing women to bring about concrete changes in social and political arrangements. In both aspects, women acting collectively as a group have moved to make demands on the system, not to join it as individuals.

Thus women, like other oppressed groups, can awaken us all to previously unseen oppression, to the subtle and not so



subtle ways we oppress each other. Potentially more important, women learned something about the politics of the "powerless" and by contrast something about the politics of the system. Through their cooperative efforts they learned that the power to act need not mean power over others to force them to do or yield what they otherwise would not. My gain, my freedom of action, need not mean your loss or impotence. Rather than the competition of interests with the strongest "winning", political power can be and in some sense always is the collective power to shape the kind of community we want.

This, in turn, is a two-fold project. Perhaps the oldest and most enduring self conscious struggle in politics is to replace the might of the strong with common standards and values for judging our inter-relationships. To some extent each newly active oppressed group seeks out new ways of describing their condition in terms of injustice; since each is by definition weak or powerless, this is almost a political necessity for them. Often, however, after gaining a certain level of political strength some groups, or rather the most successful segments of such groups, forgets and chooses to take their chances in the competition of interests. Yet it is important to remember our capacity for rediscovering old and evolving new common and shared standards of justice through the processes of speech. Moreover, women have had a particularly powerful and inclusive experience of the possibilities and necessity for working out such common standards for just and humane relations between the sexes. It is hard to see how a feminist

politics could easily be converted into the competitive interest politics game. The second dimension to this project has to do with how we understand our freedom to act and our relationship to others. Once again women would seem to be in an advantageous position to hold firm to the lessons of "powerlessness". Within male and mainstream politics freedom is associated with autonomy, with doing as one wills. The problems arise when two such wills meet. In the public world this means certain limits of not trespassing on others; it further means competition and bargaining. In the private world of the home it has meant that one ego (the woman's) yields to the other (the man's), supporting it, nurturing it, following it. Women have rejected both models as not only sacrificing the humanity of one person in favor of another but as fundamentally denying the humanity of both. They have asserted, perhaps most clearly in reference to the private world, that the freedom to grow and act of one must not be bought at the price of the freedom of the other, whether wholly as in traditional marriages or piecemeal as in competitive bargaining. Freedom among adults must be based on their mutual respect for each other. Only then can two or more people live within the same sphere of action (whether the smaller private one or the larger public one) and it remain one in which all are equally free. Once again the medium for this mutuality is speech founded in our capacity to reveal ourselves and to listen to others. Here the two dimensions of this project join. For it is our capacity to form common standards of justice that permits us to resolve conflicting demands and synthesize them into shared lines of action and shared norms of judgment.

This aspect of feminist politics could be truly revolutionary, creating a radical alternative to contemporary politics. The current task then is to find ways of infusing our politics with our capacity to live together, not in an uneasy truce of separateness, with our capacity for justice and dialogue, not bargaining, with our capacity for inclusiveness and collective action, not competition nor domination.

Part 1: The Role of Women in Politics

A WOMAN'S KEY TO POLITICAL LIBERATION by

Peggy Irene Bray

Promotions Assistant at Women's History Research Center, 2325 Oak St., Berkeley, California



With great certainty Virginia Woolf asserted that the most significant step towards political emancipation for "daughters of educated men" is economic self-reliance. Only in this way can women exert independent and powerful social energy: influence founded on an independent income. Virginia expressed this opinion in 1928 through her political essay, Three Guineas.

Again in 1949 Simone de Beauvoir maintained the same idea: "gainful employment" represents the most pragmatic route to liberation for women, because in a society where propertied advantage defines social status, dependency spells degradation, the opposite of liberation. Therefore a woman who depends on a man for support usually exercises very little concrete independence of mind and body. As Simone put it in The Second Sex:

A woman supported by a man---wife or courtesan---is not emancipated from the male because she has a ballot in her hand; if custom imposes less constraint upon her than formerly, the negative freedom implied has not profoundly modified her situation; she remains bound in her condition of vassalage. It is through gainful employment that woman has traversed most of the distance that separated her from the male; and nothing else can guarantee her liberty in practice. Once she ceases to be a parasite, the system based on her dependence crumbles; between her and the universe there is no longer any need for a masculine mediator.³ (emphasis added)

To be sure, any woman who has explored the historic second-class status of women in general must consciously or subconsciously search for an alternative in her own life, a path leading to guaranteed liberation in practice, not only in theory.

Since the end of World War II many American women have tested these ideas of Virginia Woolf and Simone de Beauvoir by entering the labor force in ever increasing numbers. In 1970, Fabian Linden of the National Industrial Conference Board Department of Consumer Economics noted the massive entry of women into the economy beyond the hearth: "Since the end of World War II, the size of the female labor force has grown more than twice as fast as the nation's total employed population."⁶ The following graph represents this general trend.



This massive employment population shift became the concrete revolutionary impulse which flowered into our contemporary Women's Movement, the most visible and multidimensional mass political expression of women in contemporary history.

A more detailed examination of the post World War II U.S. economy and the statistics of women's economic participation will help to clarify the correlation between woman's economic liberation and woman's political liberation.

The Rise Of The "Service Economy"

Shifts in the U.S. economic structure have corresponded to and stimulated women's labor force entry. In particular, since the end of World War II, the U.S. developed the world's first service economy, i.e. an economy in which "more than half of the employed population is not involved in the production of food, clothing, houses, automobiles, or other tangible goods."⁵ Of the three economic "sectors," production, agriculture, and service, definitely the service sector has taken the lead in contemporary America. U.S. News and World Report estimates that by 1980, 70 percent of all American workers will be engaged in the service sector. This represents an historical reversal of the situation at the turn of the century when 70 percent of the work force was employed in the production sector.

Women play a crucial role in the unfolding service economy with its armies of clerks and service workers. Now as never before, the economy relies on women as an untapped, humble, vast pool of labor. Unfortunately, the job experiences of women have not all been positive in that women often are channelled into low-paid, low-status, dead-end jobs. Nevertheless, as the following statistics indicate, economic independence spurred the political independence culminating in our contemporary Woman's revolution.

According to Professor Richard Abrams of U.C. Berkeley, between 1945 and 1965 the biggest increase in women workers came from the middle-aged middle class section of the population. This represents an historic reversal of the era when only young unmarried women worked until they got married. The labor force participation of these articulate middle-aged women provided the material base for the Woman's Revolution which started in the 60's. Betty Friedan in Feminine Mystique spoke for these middle-aged, middle class women, who were increasingly dissatisfied with woman's sterile domestic role. By encouraging women to search for meaning-

ful careers beyond the hearth, Betty fired the first shots, which were eventually heeded by younger women. An interesting statistical trend indicating this sequence of causality is that between 1965 and 1975 the biggest increase in women workers was from young single women, the respondents to the original out-burst of revolting women. These are the new self-styled, increasingly liberated women.

Tradition: The Chain Which Binds Us

The traditional ideology placing woman in the center of home and family life forces woman to be "species bound" ---doomed to mere biological function; whereas man can transcend biology with a worldly identity beyond the hearth and thus explore the meaning of the universe. Woman's bondage to the hearth definitely stunts her social creativity. Patriarchal society trained women to believe that having babies and maintaining a peaceful home and family suffices for a meaningful life project. Making a non-lumpy bed, giving birth, comforting a disgruntled husband---these traditionally represented woman's socially sanctioned life project; whereas, man's life project became more permanently objectified in bridges, buildings, technology, and Mona Lisas. So where are the great women artists, inventors, thinkers? Most of them spent their life energy in the domestic realm, subdued by the domestic identity---"victims of protection"---lost in history.

The Women's Revolution And The Service Economy

Therefore the service economy, by releasing woman from the domestic boundary and drawing her permanently into capitalist production, has motivated the Woman's Movement and all its revolutionary implications with regards to the long standing "normal" order in western tradition. Woman's work beyond the domestic realm laid the material foundation for a revolt, setting free the creative mindpower of woman in search of a more objectively meaningful life project.

In 1949 Simone de Beauvoir, Big Sister of the current Women's Revolution, recognized that "gainful employment" represented a profound modification of woman's traditional situation: "Once she ceases to be a parasite, the system based on her dependence crumbles" The post war experience of American women statistically implies Simone's assertion. The middle class women who increasingly entered the labor force after World War II were looking for a better identity than being "just a housewife." The demands of the service economy drew them in, and inspired by the heightened self-esteem increased financial independence yields, they recalled, questioned, and rebelled against their former purely domestic role, thus triggering the contemporary Woman's Revolution.

The system based on their dependence began to crumble with their achievement of independence through gainful employment, just as Simone and Virginia had predicted. In 1964 Betty Friedan's Feminine Mystique helped set free an avalanche because the material base for that avalanche had been laid: Increasing numbers of women worked outside the home. As the answer to woman's sterile "feminine mystique" domestic identity, Friedan continually refers to career orientation as being the most objective and pragmatic means to psycho-physical liberation.

Thus, materially comfortable middle-class, middle-aged women played an extremely important role in triggering the contemporary female revolt, which snowballed into something much greater in terms of its radical social significance. Friedan's call to women criticizing the feminine mystique caught fire in the atmosphere of the civil rights struggle for social justice and the anti-Vietnam rebellion against authority. Younger more militant women with civil rights and anti-war experience also began to recall, question, and rebell against their subordinant roles in the political movements, as well as in their personal lives. The younger women incorporated revolutionary ideology and techniques into the Woman's Revolution.

tion.

These two basic groups, the older stable women and the younger revolutionaries, compose the core of the Woman's Movement and motivate its two strains: reformist and revolutionary. It certainly seems unlikely that women with such heightened political awareness will ever retreat to a narrow domestic identity.

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RECENT TRENDS IN
THE ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION OF
AMERICAN WOMEN

by
David H. Everson
Judith E. Everson
Sangamon State University

Introduction

Just as body temperature is a good general index of health in a human being, so political participation is one sign of well-being in a democracy. If this comparison is accurate, then the American political system presently rates a mixed to negative evaluation. American women's political participation is a significant part of this troubling picture. Here, as we will see, the identified trends are both encouraging and discouraging. In this paper, we will examine these recent trends in the political participation of American women as voters, campaigners, office-holders. We will further examine various explanations for the disparities existing between male and female political participation levels. Finally, we will speculate on what the immediate future may hold if present trends continue.

Voting in presidential elections is often used as a key index of American political participation. In fact, voting is the single most frequent act of political participation undertaken by most Americans.¹ Recently, however, presidential voting rates have fallen regularly and dramatically (see Figure 1). From 1960 through 1976, turnout in presidential elections has declined nine percent or at an average rate of 2.25 percent per election year. In this connection, it is worth noting that substantially fewer than four of every ten Americans of voting age participated in the non-presidential election in 1974.²

This steady decline in voting, which is not confined to presidential voting, is alarming because it raises the question of how low the percentages could go before undermining election re-

sults. However, there are other indicators of increased participation in certain kinds of political activities and within certain groups in the population. In campaigns, for example, some data suggest increases in small-scale political contributions and volunteer activities.³ The middle and late 1960's and the early 1970's were unusual for the number of ideological or issue-based candidacies which attracted intense support among individuals and groups.^{3A} In addition, group activity toward "public interest" goals seems to have grown.^{3B} Finally, in an area we cannot address in this paper, political activity (in the form of protests) became more frequent.

From the context of these general trends, we can confront the question of the political participation of American women. Sex-related differences in various forms of political participation have long been a staple finding of empirical research. For example, in 1965 Lester Milbrath concluded that "the finding that men are more likely to participate in politics than women is one of the most thoroughly substantiated in social science."⁴ A major purpose of this paper will be to establish the degree to which that conclusion is still valid.

Voting and Campaign Participation:
Achieved Equality

One finding which consistently supported the generalization that women participated less in politics than men was the difference in voting rates. Although American women received the right to vote by constitutional amendment in 1920, their low rates of participation initially resulted in a drop for the electorate as a whole.^{4A} Because political participation is learned behavior, previous restrictions on the voting participation of women and other minorities have tended to depress turnout by these groups substantially after the formal granting of full voting rights. In the decade of the 1950's, "the vote participation rate among women . . . was consistent-

ly ten percent below that of men, as an overall estimate."⁵ By the late 1960's, however, these differences had been halved, and by 1976, the difference shrank to one percent (see Table 1). Most of whatever disparity now remains seems best explained by generational and regional differences. Older and southern women still vote at rates below comparable categories of men.^{5A} What was once a consistent and significant difference in voting rates has practically disappeared. In a moment, we will discuss the likely reasons for that change.

TABLE 1

Participation in
Presidential Elections by
Sex: 1968-1976

Year	Male	Female	D=
1968	70	66	4
1972	64	62	2
1976	60	59	1
Decline=	-10	-7	

Source: The U.S. Fact Book, p. 508,
Table no. 814.

While the importance of eliminating the gap in voting participation should not be minimized, it should also be noted that acts of participation in electoral politics requiring a greater effort reflect the same trend. Consider the case of political campaigning. Between 1952 and 1972, the gap between men and women in terms of the average number of their campaign participation acts was narrowed significantly. By 1972, the rates for employed women actually exceeded the rates for men.⁶ For other activities, such as communicating political preferences or engaging in community-directed, non-partisan activities, the findings are similar.⁷

What accounts for these recent changes which have equalized male and female rates of citizen participa-

tion? One standard explanation draws upon socio-economic categories. In general, higher socio-economic status is associated with higher rates of political participation.⁸ The recent change in women's political participation seems to be directly related to changes in their socio-economic characteristics, such as education, income and employment.^{8A} The evidence concerning the impact of such social categories can be summarized as follows. With certain exceptions noted later, these categories tend to be related in similar ways to both female and male participation.⁹ Thus, the general expectation is that men and women of the same status will participate at approximately the same rates. Second, the single factor most responsible for increased female political participation is the rising number of women working outside the home: "These findings tend to contradict the popular notion that housewives participate more readily because they have the time or leisure to do so."¹⁰ As is often the case, the impetus for social change in one arena--the political--seems to have come from change in another--the economic.

Now for the qualifications. First, at the upper and lower levels of socio-economic status the findings must be elaborated. College educated women exceed the participation rates of comparable men.¹¹ Disadvantaged circumstances also seem to depress female participation rates beyond what would be expected for men in similar situations. These differences suggest continuing attitudinal variations which could be related to life circumstances and/or political socialization.

For example, "to be black and female in the United States is to be more politically as well as economically disadvantaged than either identification would predict singly."¹² If we examine only voting participation, three other important findings emerge:

- (1) Overall, the voting rates of black women are increasing faster than those

of any other sex/race group in the population.

- (2) The voting rates of black men and women have now been equalized.
- (3) The voting rates of younger black women exceed those of younger black men.^{12A}

Despite these dramatic changes, it was estimated that black women held only .0007 of the elected positions in the U.S. in 1973,^{12B} while constituting 6½ to 7% of the population.

A second set of variables shown to be related to political participation is attitudes: a sense of political effectiveness, a sense of citizen duty,¹³ and a degree of political interest.¹³ In general, women had (in 1972) lower overall scores on indices of political interest, information and efficacy.¹⁴ As an example, more than 75 percent of women (as opposed to two-thirds of the men) agreed that "politics is so complicated I can't really understand it."^{14A} Nevertheless, women were the near-equals of men in participation. This explanation helps to account for the sociological deviations noted earlier: "Women with high civic orientation scores participate more fully than men with the same characteristics."¹⁵ Women with low civic orientation, correspondingly, participate less than comparable males.

The overall point seems clear. The previous lower participation rates of women were not the result of natural passivity nor of an immutable socialization into a passive role. As the social position of many women has changed, differences in participation have nearly disappeared. Only in the more disadvantaged groups in the **population** do male/female differences in participation persist. It may be speculated that the attitudes supporting these differences--lower interest in politics and stronger feelings of ineffectiveness--would also be modified under changed social circum-

stances.

The major descriptive findings on electoral participation and their implications, then, are these: (1) in the main, "participation equality" in voting has been achieved, and (2) with certain changes (by no means easy ones) in socio-economic circumstances of disadvantaged women, the remaining differences would in all probability be eliminated. These conclusions draw attention to the lag which exists between participation equality as citizens (which has been substantially achieved) and participation equality as decision-makers (which emphatically has not). There is an apparent contradiction between the fact that sexual differences in citizen participation have dissolved, thereby disproving the notion of natural passivity in women, and the fact that few female citizens are political decision-makers. This contradiction exposes a basic and continuing inequality in American democracy. We will now summarize the descriptive data which support this conclusion.

Office-Holding: Extreme Inequality

Equality in citizen participation, which has only recently been achieved, has not been immediately followed by equality in office-holding. A telling comparison is that "Although women comprise 53% of the U.S. voting population, they hold only about 8% of all public offices."¹⁷ In total votes, women actually outpoll men.^{17A} While it would be unrealistic to suppose that full parity would be achieved in the mid-1960's to the late 1970's (when the gap in citizen participation was closed), it is surprising that the office-holding gap remains this large. Let's examine the data by various levels of government and the changes which have taken place.

National Government Offices

In this paper, we will consider only elective offices. No woman has ever occupied the offices of president or vice-president. In the entire his-

tory of the U.S. Congress, fewer than one percent of the total membership has been female.¹⁸ The recent percentages of female membership in the House and Senate are summarized in Table 2. While the numbers in both bodies have doubled from 1967 to 1978, this is misleading because the gains are a function of the initially low numbers of women. In comparison with the percentages of women in all public offices, the national legislature lags well behind. Moreover, the two female Senators serving in 1978, Muriel Humphrey and Maryon Allen, serve in place of deceased husbands. This has been a traditional route for female representation in the national legislature. Consequently, the Senate lags well behind the House in elected female membership. And the apparent gains in female representation may be up and down rather than steadily upward.¹⁹

TABLE 2

Members of Congress by
Sex: 1967-1977
(% Female)

	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Senators</u>
'67	.02	.01
'69	.02	.01
'71	.03	.01
'73	.03	.00
'75	.04	.00
'77	.04	.00
'78	.04	.02

State Offices: State Legislators

From 1971-2 to 1975-6, forty-three of the forty-nine state legislative lower houses experienced a net gain in female members. In total, the number of female state legislators in lower houses increased by 125% in those years. Thirty of the fifty state senates also increased female membership by 102%.²⁰ These figures are encouraging in that they reveal an overall pattern of significant increase in female representation in state legislatures. This is important beyond the

state level, as holding state legislative office is often a stepping stone to Congress.²¹ Several state legislatures have female memberships which exceed the Congressional figures by a factor of 4. The states most lacking in female representation tend to be found in the South (for example, in 1975-6, Louisiana had just two female representatives and no female senators) and (to a lesser extent) in the Midwest. New Hampshire has the most female legislators (28%); strangely, California, which often leads in legislative policy innovations, has few female legislators.²²

As might be anticipated, the number of women state senators is (as in the national case) far less than the number of women state representatives. Indeed, it is interesting that one state (New Hampshire) had more female members in the lower house (102) in 1975-6, than the entire nation had female state senators (97).²³ Recognizing that there is considerable variability among the states, it is worth noting that approximately nine percent of the members of state legislatures are women (up from approximately 4% ten years earlier). This figure is about double that for the U.S. House of Representatives. Significantly, few of these women have yet advanced to positions of leadership in state legislative assemblies.²⁴

State Governors

In 1978, there were two elected women governors, Ella Grasso of Connecticut and Dixy Lee Ray of Washington. Mrs. Grasso was the first woman ever to be elected a state governor without having been preceded by her husband. As of 1975, it was estimated that women held only 45 elected state offices nation-wide. One was Lieutenant Governor Mary Ann Krupsak in New York.²⁵ (Incidentally, Ms. Krupsak ran in the Democratic primary against incumbent Governor Hugh Carey in 1978 and lost, whereas Mrs. Grasso won her 1978 primary.) By 1977, there were three female lieutenant governors.^{25A}

Women at National Political Conventions

The most visible success of women as political decision-makers is in the composition of delegations to the last two national party nominating conventions. The impetus for these changes came from reforms in the delegate selection process following the turbulent 1968 Democratic convention. The McGovern-Fraser Commission mandated numerous reforms in the delegate selection process, including the requirement of affirmative action to increase the representation of blacks, women, and youth.²⁶ These guidelines were controversial, especially after the debacle of the 1972 Democratic presidential race, and were modified somewhat in 1974.²⁷ But regardless of the controversy surrounding the imposition of quotas, the immediate impact was to dramatically increase the percentages of women at the 1972 Democratic national convention. In 1972, "forty percent of the delegates were women--not alternates who vote if the delegates are absent, but bona fide voting delegates."²⁸ This was a threefold increase from the 13 percent of 1968. Similar, though less spectacular, increases occurred in the Republican Party (from 17 to 30 percent).²⁹ These impressive gains were largely maintained in 1976. The Democratic and Republican conventions had 34 percent and 31 percent female representation, respectively.³⁰

The important lesson to be drawn from this experience is that dramatic change in the representation of women came under the spur of affirmative action guidelines. Such dramatic change was possible only because the party power structure was able and willing to compel it.

The Local Level

At the local level of government, the representation of women is slight. In county government, for example, 1975 female representation was "slightly above two percent!" The percentage of city council members was 3%. Only two women were mayors of major cities (pop-

ulation over 250,000). However, it should be noted that by 1977, there were 95 female mayors of cities with more than 10,000 population.^{30A} The only local decision-making arena where the percentage of women approaches (and in some instances, exceeds) that in state legislatures is the school board--approximately 10% of its members nationwide are women.³¹

Summary: Women as Decision-Makers

Again, the summary findings are clear. In elective offices, at all levels, women are severely underrepresented. Moreover, although some trends toward improvement are discernible, the progress has been modest, and there is no assurance that all gains will continue. Because of the low percentages of women in local political office, a natural progression from local to state to national levels is impeded. Women candidates often must be recruited from volunteer activities to run for political office. The transition from community volunteer to candidate for elective office has its difficulties. One is that previous experience in government is naturally limited. However, in an "anti-politics" era, such inexperience could prove to be an advantage at times.

Only where an organization, the party, has been able to compel affirmative action has the representation of women approached equality. Even here, the gains of 1972 receded slightly in 1976.

Women Running for Office: Congressional Nominations and Electoral Success

One of our knowledge gaps about women in politics concerns how many women actually run for office and what their success rate is vis-a-vis men. However, we do have data on congressional nominations and electoral success which can serve as an indication of the historical patterns for that office.³²

First, it is worth noting that of the more than 23,000 major party nominations

from 1916-1974, only slightly over two percent went to women. In that period, a total of 236 women were elected to Congress, less than two percent of the total number elected.

How did women fare as opposed to men in elections? Of the 236 women nominated, nearly half (47.6%) were elected. This compares with a men's success rate of 54.4%.

In summarizing these data, Lane Van Tassel, political scientist at Georgia State, wrote:

"Congresswoman Martha Griffiths reportedly once asked the legislative reference service of the Library of Congress to estimate how long it would take for women to gain parity with men in Congress. The answer was 432 years. Without knowing the precise basis for such a projection, it is certainly compatible with the figures... Recent popular impressions to the contrary, the number of women elected to the House in general elections has increased by only three since 1954... In short, prospects for increased female membership in the Congress are increasing--but not by very much nor at a very rapid pace."³³

In 1976 fifty--two women (the highest total ever) received major party Congressional nominations.. Of these, 18 (or 35%) were elected. This percentage was well below the 1916-1974 overall success rate for women. However, this lower rate of success may reflect the fact that women tend to be nominated in hopeless circumstances.

Women Running for Office: City Council Nominations and Success

A recent study of women's candidacies for city councils in cities with over 25,000 population assesses "the rates of female candidacy and election" for these offices. Out of more than 4,000 candidates, only 21% were women. 900 female candidates was 45%, approximately the same as the Congressional success rate of women. After these elec-

tions, ten percent of the available council seats were held by women.³⁴

When Women Run Against Men

It is apparent that women's candidacies are generally less successful than men's candidacies for Congress and city councils. Two explanations can be offered. The first is bias against female candidates in the electorate. A second reason may be that women candidates have to overcome obstacles growing out of their general absence in public office-holding in the first place. For example, in Congressional races incumbency has been a virtual guarantee of victory.³⁵ Since there are few female incumbents, their success rate is diluted. A recent study of Congressional candidates in 1970 and 1974 concluded that "when candidate party and incumbency ... are controlled, candidate sex has little or no effect on electoral outcomes."³⁶ This evidence strongly suggests that it is not the electorate per se which is keeping down the percentages of women in high elective office. Rather the "recruitment and nomination processes"³⁷ of the political parties are at fault.

CONCLUSION

The accompanying Table (3) summarizes the descriptive findings of this review and emphasizes again the contrast between equality in voting participation and inequality in running for and holding office. This point seems worth reiterating. It is not the electorate which prevents more female representation in the government. Rather, it is the failure of the parties to recruit and to nominate more female candidates. What can be done, even in a short period of time, is illustrated by the increase in female representation at national political conventions for 1972-1976.

Now that voting equality has been attained, the next objective is office-holding equality. The former took more than 50 years to achieve. The recent expansion in the number of women running for and winning political office is encouraging. Nevertheless, the

gap still to be closed is substantial. The increased awareness of women of the need for political activism--witness the ERA struggle, for example--should propel more women out of the volunteer ranks into the front lines of participation. However, it will take a sustained effort to overcome the inertia of a political system which remains predominantly a male world.

ADDENDUM

Women in Illinois Politics

In 1972, only 2% of the members of the Illinois General Assembly were women. In 150 years, only 38 women total had been elected to the IGA. However, "in the current legislature women hold 20 seats, 17 in the House... and still three in the Senate...." This amounts to about 9% of the total--right at the national average. There is one woman member of Congress from Illinois (4% of the delegation). There are two women candidates for statewide office this year in Illinois. The statewide office most frequently captured by women has been election to the University of Illinois Board of Trustees. (Data in this paragraph taken from Ken Watson, "Sharp's Charges liven up Secretary of State race," Illinois State Journal Register, Sept. 21, 1978).

NOTES

¹ Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 31.

² Bureau of the Census, The U.S. Fact Book (1978), p. 508.

³ Richard Boyd, "Electoral Trends in Postwar Politics", James D. Barber (ed.), Choosing the President (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 195-198.

^{3A}See Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976).

^{3B}See Jeffrey M. Berry, Lobbying for the People (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977).

⁴ Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 135. Emphasis removed.

^{4A}See William H. Flanigan and Nancy H. Zingale, Political Behavior of the American Electorate (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1975), p. 15.

⁵ Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley, 1960), p. 484. Also see John J. Stücker, "Women as Voters: Their Maturation as Political Persons in American Society," in Marianne Githens and Jewel L. Prestage (eds.), A Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay, 1977), p. 276, Table 15.4.

^{5A}Flanigan and Zingale, op.cit., p. 28, Table 1.2 and Gerald Pomper, Voter's Choice (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1975), pp. 70-73.

⁶ Kristi Andersen, "Working Women and Political Participation, 1952-1972," American Journal of Political Science 19(1975): 442-443 (Figures 1 and 2).

⁷ Maureen Fiedler, "The Participation of Women in American Politics." Paper delivered at the 1975 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, Sept. 2-5, 1975, p. 6 and Table 2.

⁸ Verba and Nie, op.cit., p. 130 and Figure 8-2.

^{8A}The socio-economic role of women changed dramatically during the 1960's. See Marjorie Lansing, "The American Woman: Voter and Activist," in Jane S. Jaquette (ed.), Women in Politics (New York: Wiley, 1974), p. 6.

⁹ Fiedler, op.cit., p. 6.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 8.

¹¹Ibid., p. 7 and Table 4. Note that this statement is not true for

those with advanced degrees. Also, this generalization applies to a range of activities. In voting, women and men of high education vote at the same rates. Lansing, op.cit., p. 9, Table 1.3.

¹²Ibid., p.8.

^{12A}These findings are explored by Marjorie Lansing, "The Voting Patterns of American Black Women," in Githens and Prestage (eds.), op.cit., pp. 379-394.

^{12B}Prestage, "Black Women State Legislators: A Profile," in Githens and Prestage (eds.), op.cit., p. 402. Also see Herrington J. Bryce and Alan E. Warrick, "Black Women in Elective Office," Black Scholar (1974), 17-20/

¹³Verba and Nie, op.cit., p. 133.

¹⁴Fiedler, op.cit., p. 9.

^{14A}John W. Soule and Wilma E. McGrath, "A Comparative Study of Male-Female Political Attitudes at Citizen and Elite Levels," in Githens and Prestage (eds.), op.cit., p. 183, Table 10.3.

¹⁵Fiedler, op.cit., p. 9.

¹⁶Soule and McGrath, op.cit., p. 184, Table 10.4.

¹⁷"Women in Office," Parade, August 27, 1978, p. 10.

^{17A}See Lansing, op.cit., p. 6, Table 1.1.

¹⁸Parade, August 27, 1978, p. 10.

¹⁹Wilma R. Krauss, "Political Implications of Gender Roles: A Review of the Literature," American Political Science Review 68(1974): 1711.

²⁰Irene Diamond, Sex Roles in the State House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 179-180, Appendix 2.

²¹"For Members of Congress, the predominant previous public office ex-

perience was that of state legislator... Malcolm E. Jewell and Samuel C. Patterson, The Legislative Process in the United States (New York: Random House, 1977, 3rd ed.), p. 78.

²²Diamond, op.cit.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Kirsten Amundsen, A New Look at the Silenced Majority (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 73. Jeane Kirkpatrick notes that "once a 'men only' sign marked the entire legislature out of bounds for women, today the line has been redrawn around the centers of legislative power." Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 128.

²⁵Amundsen, op.cit., pp. 71-72

^{25A}New York Times, Sept. 10, 1977.

²⁶For one account, see Austin Ranney, Curing the Mischiefs of Faction: Party Reform in America (Berkeley: California University Press, 1975).

²⁷See Denis G. Sullivan, Jeffrey L. Pressman and F. Christopher Arterton, Explorations in Convention Decision-Making (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1976), pp. 33-34, p. 63.

²⁸Soule and McGrath, op.cit., p. 187.

²⁹Naomi Lynn and Cornelia Butler, "Societal Punishment and Aspects of Female Political Participation," in Githens and Prestage (eds.), op.cit., p. 141.

³⁰Lane Van Tassell, "Women Viewed Within Three Western Party Systems: A Descriptive Analysis of a Political Minority Group," unpublished paper, n.d., p. 60, Table 7.

^{30A}New York Times, Sept. 10, 1977.

³¹Amundsen, op.cit., pp. 73-74.

³²These data are all from Van Tassell, op.cit., pp. 56-7, Table 5.

³³Ibid., pp. 30-31

³⁴Albert K. Karnig and Oliver Walter
"Election of Women to City Councils,"
Social Science Quarterly (1976): p. 607,
Table 1.

³⁵Congressional Quarterly Inc.,
Electing Congress (Washington, D.C.,
1978), p. 2.

³⁶R. Darcy and Sarah Slavin Schramm,
"When Women Run Against Men," Public
Opinion Quarterly 41(1977): 5.

³⁷Ibid., p. 10.

³⁸Ibid., p. 2.

³⁹Myra Marx Perree, "A Women For
President?" Public Opinion Quarterly
(1974): p. 392, Table 1.

MEN RUN AMERICA.

	Men%	Women%
U.S. Population	48.7	51.3
U.S. Senate	99	1
U.S. House	96	4
U.S. Supreme Court	100	0
Federal Judges	99	1
Governors	96	4
State Representatives	90	10
State Senators	95	5
Statewide Elective/ Appointive Offices	89	11
County Governing Boards	97	3
Mayors and Councilors	92	8
School Board Members	75	25

The practical question today is how to elect more
women to public office. One of the answers is the
Women's Campaign Fund.

HALF THE CONGRESS IS MISSING.

BREAD AND ROSES

Music by CAROLINE KOHL SAAT
Words by JAMES OPPENHEIM

Hopefully

F Bb C7 F

As we come march-ing, march-ing, in the beau-ty of the day, A

Bb F Bb C7 F

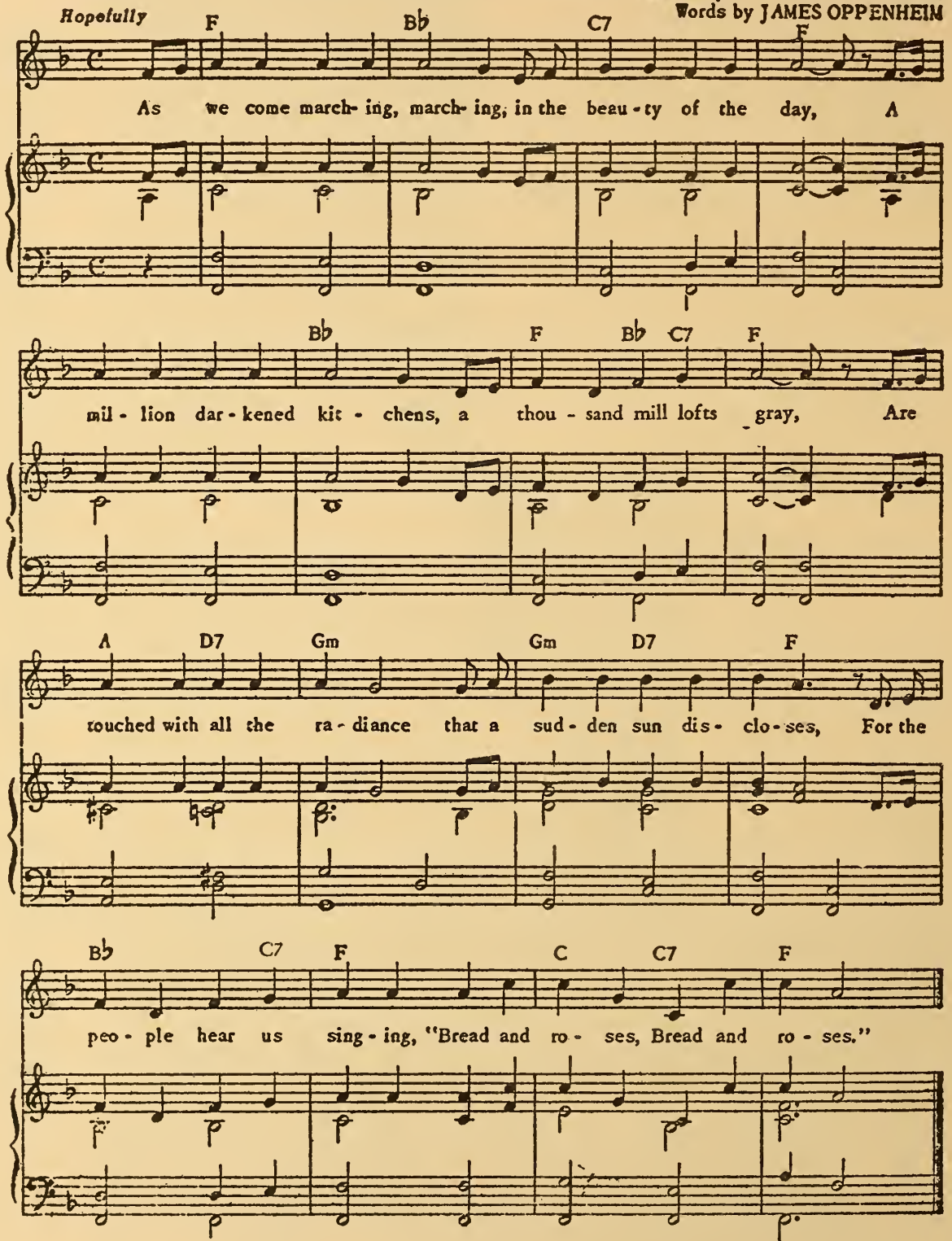
mil-lion dar-kened kit-chens, a thou-sand mill lofts gray, Are

A D7 Gm Gm D7 F

touched with all the ra-diance that a sud-den sun dis-clo-ses, For the

Bb C7 F C C7 F

peo-ple hear us sing-ing, "Bread and ro-ses, Bread and ro-ses."



1. As we come marching, marching in the beauty of the day,
A million darkened kitchens, a thousand mill lofts gray,
Are touched with all the radiance that a sudden sun discloses,
For the people hear us singing: "Bread and roses! Bread and roses!"
2. As we come marching, marching, we battle too for men,
For they are women's children, and we mother them again.
Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes;
Hearts starve as well as bodies; give us bread, but give us roses!
3. As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead
Go crying through our singing their ancient cry for bread.
Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew.
Yes, it is bread we fight for—but we fight for roses, too!
4. As we come marching, marching, we bring the greater days.
The rising of the women means the rising of the race.
No more the drudge and idler—ten that toil where one reposes,
But a sharing of life's glories: Bread and roses! Bread and roses!

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SONGS OF WORK AND FREEDOM,
by Edith Fowke and Joe Glazer
Roosevelt University, Chicago.

MOTHER JONES



Pioneer socialist Mary Harris "Mother" Jones (1830-1930) helped found the IWW, organized mine-workers, supported the Mexican Revolution and was one of the great orators of her day.

Mary ("Mother") Jones was the most remarkable woman produced by the American labor movement. She was born in 1830 and lived for a full hundred years. She spent fifty of those years fighting fiercely on behalf of her "children": the coal miners and the rest of the working class. In her autobiography Mother Jones wrote:

"The story of coal is always the same. It is a dark story. For a second's more sunlight, men must fight like tigers. For the privilege of seeing the color of their children's eyes by the light of the sun, fathers must fight as beasts in the jungle. That life may have something of decency, something of beauty—a picture, a new dress, a bit of cheap lace fluttering in the window—for this, men who work down in the mines must struggle and lose, struggle and win".

(from Songs of Work and Freedom, by Edith Fowke and Joe Glazer, Roosevelt University, Chicago, 1960.)

Words & Music by Shirley Katz

The first staff of music is written on a single five-line staff with a treble clef. It contains a sequence of notes and rests. Above the staff, the letters C, F, C, F, C, F, C are placed, corresponding to the notes. The notes are: C (quarter note), F (quarter note), C (quarter note), F (quarter note), C (quarter note), F (quarter note), and C (quarter note). There are rests between the notes. The notes are written as whole notes.

Handwritten musical notation for the first staff of 'The Rose Tree'. The staff is in treble clef and contains a melody with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are: (F4, G4, A4, Bb4), G4, F4, (E4, D4, C4), Bb3, A3, G3, F3, E3, D3, C2. Above the staff, the chords C, C7, F, and C are indicated. The melody is written in a simple, handwritten style with a single line of music.

The first staff of music is in treble clef and 2/4 time. It contains three measures. The first measure has a G7 chord above it and contains a half note G4 and a half note A4. The second measure has a C chord above it and contains a half note C4. The third measure has F and C chords above it and contains a half note F3 and a half note C4. The staff ends with a double bar line.

TAKE MY HAND, MY SISTER, TAKE MY HAND
WE SHALL MAKE A CHAIN ACROSS THE LAND
AND TOGETHER WE WILL STAND
AND TOGETHER WE WILL STAND

Part 2: University Politics and Womens Politics in the University

WHAT IS FEMINIST RESEARCH?:

SOME SUGGESTIVE REMARKS

by

Lois Greenwood

Department of Political Science
University of California-Berkeley

Before we begin a discussion of "what is feminist research", we must be clear about what we mean by feminism. I define feminism to be a concern with inequality between the sexes and a commitment to validating the insights and wisdom of a woman's experience in the world. Such a simple definition belies the multitude of issues and levels of complexity such a concern entails. Feminism at once is concerned with the specific issue of sexual inequality while at the same time having broad-ranging application to many fields of knowledge and contributing to new methods of inquiry through its understanding of a woman's experience.

A general woman's experience in and of the world is markedly different from that of a man's and this experience affects her attitudes, behavior, values and insights. A feminist approach to knowledge would submit that this experience has something valuable to offer the pool of knowledge and a feminist researcher would articulate that experience through description, analysis, expression, and quantification. This is by no means an easy task for a woman because she must first extract herself from her own experience in order to gain a better perspective and an overall view while at the same time, she must stay in touch with her own experience because it offers her insight and understanding. She must become a "participant-observer" of the world of women and develop skills that enable her to explain effectively and convincingly the nature of a woman's experience to women who have not been aware of the differences in their experience and to men who do not have the same experience.

One of the most important characteristics of a contemporary American woman's experience is that she primarily lives and works in the private domain of the family. Even when she works outside of the family, she is strongly influenced by her work and life in the home. This applies as well to women who never become homemakers and mothers and have always worked in the public domain because they have been affected by a woman's socialization toward homemaking and motherhood. And, they must confront a division of labor in the public sector which is defined in terms of its similarities to and congruence with work in the home.

This private domain of the home has a particular set of experiences, values, and methods of operating that are uniquely distinct from the public world of work. This very distinction between the two worlds is highly regarded and highly guarded by our social values. Home is the refuge from the dog-eat-dog world of competitive "one-upmanship". And, woman is the gate-keeper of this refuge. Within this domain concerns for human welfare predominate and are mandated. Human growth, development, nurturance, healing and service are primary. These areas of human need are contributed to in the public world by woman's volunteer work in these areas through service to community organizations, charitable works, education, hospitals and nursing homes, and other such institutions which serve the economically marginal person. Society does not pay for these valuable human welfare services whether performed in the home or the public sector through volunteer labor but because these important services are performed, society does not have to be formally accountable for them. These needs become disguised costs. We can say that one important aspect of a woman's experience is her concern for human welfare. And fem-

inist research can bring that concern to the forefront of public discourse and off the back-burners of the home fires legitimizing it as a valuable issue for the public domain.

Secondly, woman's experience and recognition of the value of interpersonal relationships and the importance of human interdependence which can be derived from her role in the home has a contribution to make. Interdependence is an extremely important fact of human existence which often is lost sight of when the world is broken into manageable pieces so that it may be more readily studied, defined and quantified. Such a method of inquiry is of course very important and promotes a detailed knowledge of a subject but it becomes imbalanced and distorted if it does not recognize the interdependence and inter-relatedness of knowledge as well. Woman's experience articulated as feminist research in this way can offer a very valuable and complex method of inquiry through a recognition of interdependence of knowledge. This can involve the very way inquiry is carried out by valuing team effort and collaborative or collective work and it can affect the way we go about studying a subject by discussing the relatedness of various disciplines or issues to a subject. Examples of such an approach may be found by looking over any listing of "women's studies" classes. Some examples drawn from workshops offered at a "women's studies" conference given at Stanford University last spring are: "History and Creativity", "Antifeminism and Violence", "Sprituality and Psychology", "Literature and Technology", "Work and Family".

Moreover, woman's experience in the home culture recognizes the importance of feelings and experience as a way of knowing. This recognition can bring to the world of inquiry a sense of the importance of having a "gut" understanding of a subject one is investigating. When understanding of a subject is tied to a physical or emotional knowing, one is apt to be more realistic and grounded in the problem.

There is less likelihood of having one's "head in the clouds" spinning out rarified ideas that become thinner and thinner as they spin. It is a common problem when working only with logic and rational analyses to over-intellectualize and weave a labyrinth of logically-related ideas that in the long run may not make any sense because they are not tied to human experience or feelings. Once again, rational and logical inquiry is absolutely essential but it must be balanced with a recognition of the value of intuitive knowing. And once again a feminist approach to research can validate this aspect of knowing.

Finally, there is a saying which has been popular since the inception of the contemporary women's movement which is often misunderstood or confused but has a truth and wisdom to it that should not be easily dismissed. It is the statement that "the personal is political and the political is personal". This statement is for one, claiming that the private world of the family and the individual and the public world of work and politics are not separate but indeed very interrelated and interdependent. What goes on in the public world of work and politics significantly affects the individual and the family and what goes on in the family and within the individual affects the public world. Such an understanding offers a valuable contribution to the study of the individual and society. On another level, this saying is talking about the fact that there is a power dynamic in interpersonal relationships (the personal is political) while it is also asserting that there is a human element to the tough competitive materialistic world of politics. Most importantly, the thrust of this remark is speaking to the subordination of the personal, the private world, and its caretaker, woman to the public world of money, politics, and rationality whose caretaker is man. This subordination of woman's experience and of the values of the private domain is an inequitable and distorted vision of reality. It brings imbalance and extremism to both domains in an

attempt to deny their interdependence. And it severely limits the possibility for self-actualization and androgyny when women and men are designated to separate and unequal domains. This issue of inequality cannot be understated in terms of its importance to feminist inquiry. It sensitizes a researcher to issues of dominance, control, authority, and their corollaries of powerlessness, passivity, and exploitation. And awareness of the reality and significance of these issues will inform feminist inquiry and methods of investigation.

I realize these statements are controversial but I hope that they will provoke debate and encourage more thought and attention toward understanding and legitimizing feminist research. I want to make a couple of qualifications to the above remarks. I am not saying that men cannot carry out feminist research. Men will bring special advantages and disadvantages to the subject. Not unlike a white researcher in a black community, they must attempt to understand a woman's experience with its full integrity and inner dynamics being careful not to overlay his observations with standard or accepted perceptions. Done sensitively, a male researcher can contribute greatly to the understanding of a woman's experience and at the same time experience the rewards of a form of self-transcendence that any good researchers gain when they try to understand a subject for what it is rather than for what it may seem to be.

Finally, there is a fear of biological determinism which particularly concerns professional women who are breaking out of traditional women's roles and are refusing to be determined by the fact that they can bear children. This fear is justified and needs to be combatted as long as ideas of biological determinism prevail. As a reaction to this position, professionally-oriented women may often reject whatever is thought to be stereotypically female in an attempt to prove that they are as capable as men in the same way as men. As feminist

A MAN OF QUALITY
IS NOT THREATENED
BY A WOMAN OF
EQUALITY



WOMAN'S PLACE
IS ON TOP
OF ANNAPURNA

researchers we face the double-edge sword of asserting our equality and ability to be proficient in the same activities as men while at the same time validating the insights and values that a woman's experience of the world has to offer. In the former challenge, we can tumble into the pitfall of "out manning the man" in an attempt to be as professional as a man would be. But it is also important for us to validate the fact that other subjects, issues and methods of inquiry are as interesting and insightful as those that are standard. Once again, this is not to say that men could not invoke these issues or employ these methods because they can and do in some cases. But, this is to say that we, as feminist researchers, should bring these standards, concerns, and methods to the forefront of intellectual discourse.

WOMEN'S STUDIES:
POLITICS OF POWERLESSNESS
AT A UNIVERSITY
by
Emily Stoper

When I took over the job of Coordinator of the Women's Studies Program at California State University -Hayward, I grabbed a lot of powerlessness. The "powers that be" on campus (the Administration) supported the Program only to the extent of permission to offer two courses (with the regular faculty), \$100 a year and access to the services of the already over-worked Interdisciplinary Studies secretary. I was given no assigned time from my regular job as a political science professor.

Our clientele group was mostly potential--about 4000 women students (of a total student body of 8000) on a commuter campus, most of them struggling to support themselves and their families while "getting through" college. Their attitude toward Women's Studies wasn't hostile--it was, for the most part, stunningly indifferent. There was an advisory committee of women faculty, none of them willing to devote much time to the Program.

Now, I had grabbed all that powerlessness for a reason. I was convinced that the Program had important work to do--in changing the consciousness of women students so they'd make better use of the rest of their education, in correcting male bias in the curriculum, in raising important sex-role questions for male and female students and faculty. But how was I going to acquire the means, given a base of powerlessness, to do this important work?

At first, looking to my womanly heritage, I tried the old Gourmet Macaroni and Cheese Solution: accept your meager resources and do marvelous things with them by an outpouring of your own ingenuity and energy. I soon found this both wearing and frustrating, so I looked to another heritage: that of powerless local minority groups. This one offered better counsel: look to the next higher level of government. Here

an opportunity offered itself in the form of a Pilot Project Grant for Instructional Innovation from the Chancellor of the State College and University system. I was aware of the chief peril of this kind of outside assistance. Once it was withdrawn, the Program would be as powerless as ever--only it would hurt more, since we'd have had a taste of something better.

In a way, I was lucky--I knew that if I got money I'd only have it for one year, so unlike many poverty groups, I wouldn't have time to grow dependent on it. I had a chance for about \$25,000, to be spent in one year, and I knew it would have to be spent in a way that would strengthen our base.

After picking the brains of the advisory committee and everyone else I knew, I allocated most of the budget to a Faculty Development Course, to be offered to 12 faculty members from a variety of fields, each to receive 2 quarter units (generally half a course) of assigned time away from teaching. The course was team-taught by myself and Professor Joan Sieber of the Psychology Department, each of us getting 4 quarter units. The faculty who took the course included seven men and five women, in fields ranging from Physical Education to German Literature to Management Science. Attitudes ranged over the spectrum from feminism to traditionalism.

The course took the form of 10 interdisciplinary symposia all focused around changing sex roles, on topics like "Masculinity/Femininity/Androgyny", "New Directions in Parenting", and "Styles of Leadership". The symposia consisted of lecture/discussions led by the two instructors and by the "students" in the course and participation exercises led by the other instructor and three of the "students".

The participation exercises included filling out "scales" about our work and family orientation, leadership styles and basic personality self-images (masculine, feminine and androgynous), discussing our reactions to taped musical selections and to charged words and

situations, writing our fears about the other sex on cards and then comparing them to their fears about us, and so on. Each exercise was centered around sex differences. I thought they were invaluable in getting us to examine our assumptions about our own sex roles and to bring to the surface a lot of attitudes that might otherwise have been covered over by the usual well-meaning liberal clichés. More than that, the participation exercises permitted some real personal self-revelation among members of a college faculty in a situation leading to greater trust--in my experience, a truly rare event.

The lecture/discussions also provided the basis for a lively intellectual exchange among the faculty in different fields--which is almost as rare. Needless to say, we all loved the course--and in fact an eleventh session was held, by popular demand.

So, 14 faculty members had a wonderful time--but how effective was the course in helping expand the base for Women's Studies? The faculty from the course are planning some six new courses focused on women--three of which are already scheduled. Each faculty member in the course made a contract to do some "homework" that would help her or him in teaching. Two produced annotated bibliographies on women--one in sociology, one in political development. The others did extensive reading in preparation for either new courses or the introduction of new material within existing courses designed to correct male bias. I think everyone came out of the course with a new sense of Women's Studies as something worth devoting their best energies to.

With what was left of the money, I paid the printing and other costs for three issues of a new Women's Studies student magazine, "In Her Image"; printed 1000 copies of a new brochure about the Women's Studies Program; and bought films, videotapes and slide shows for classroom use. These moves were all designed to work on the other side of

Women's Studies' problems--an unaroused student clientele.

Obviously, I can't yet report the long-term results of my efforts--if any. I hope I've put Women's Studies on the personal agenda of enough faculty and students that it's now on the campus agenda, no longer a non-issue. Who knows, though? Certainly the program has as little "objective" power (money, authority) as ever. Yet the only kind of power that means anything for Women's Studies is an expanding commitment to share a certain set of insights with other students and faculty and to pass on to them the same commitment to expansion. If the commitment exists, it should generate whatever money we need. Certainly, my experience with the Faculty Development Course has intensified my own commitment and my own sense of personal power.

WOMEN PAY TAXES!! WOMEN OBEY THE LAWS!

Women and Children suffer from dirty streets, impure milk, adulterated food, bad sanitary conditions, smoke laden air, underpaid labor.

WOMEN CLEAN THE HOMES:

LET THEM HELP CLEAN THE CITY

VOTE	300 X 'YES'	AMENDMENT NO. 1, NOV. 5, 1912
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It will give the women A SQUARE DEAL.

It will give your girl the same chance
as your boy.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, 406 SELLING BLDG.

Part 3: Sources

REVIEWS

SO MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT WOMEN. BUT SO LITTLE HAS SHOWN UP IN THE LIBRARIES.

At a time when it is absolutely crucial for women to have access to information by and about themselves, it is dishearteningly difficult to find such material in libraries all over the USA.

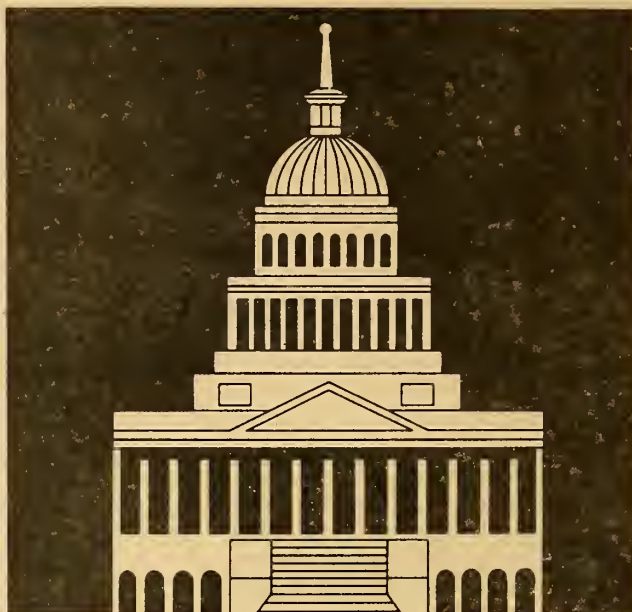
From 1968 to 1979 the Women's History Research Center, in Berkeley, California, collected and organized over a million documents relating to the role of women in our society.

The WOMAN AND LAW microfilm from the Women's History Research Center is divided into six sections, the largest of which is Women and Politics, consisting of eighteen reels (1-2000 items per reel). Five hundred major areas of law are covered in the Law microfilm and each contains several subtopics.

In addition to the material in the Black and Third World Women section, Women and Politics contains information on the legal status of women in many countries including China, India, Palestine, and the Philippines. The reels also supplement the Employment, Rape, and Education sections by supplying information on specific issues (equal opportunity, abortion), laws and cases.

Information on women in politics, from Abigail Adams to Emma Goldman to Shirley Chisholm form a large part of the politics section, as does information concerning the whole spectrum of women's political activity--the French Revolution, The Suffragists Movement, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the Anti-war movement.

Local groups, such as Boston's Bread and Roses, are well represented, as are such national organizations as N.O.W. and the National Women's Political Caucus, as well as women involved in various elections, local and national.



The WOMEN AND LAW microfilm, containing, as it does, masses of unpublished or difficult to obtain material, is a vital and seemingly inexhaustible source of information in the field of women and law, a field with few texts and one that has only just begun to develop.

In 1974, the Women's History Research Center turned over their collection of women and law materials to the Archive of Contemporary History to the University of Wyoming. Previously, the collection, made up of essays, clippings, leaflets, etc., acted as a clearinghouse for areas of women's law lacking case precedent and provided information on sex discrimination in such areas as education, housing, social security, and unions, as well as the topics mentioned above. All are in the WOMEN AND LAW microfilm.

Urge your library to order WOMEN AND LAW, 40 reels (\$33 per reel) plus guides for each section from the Women's History Research Center, 2325 Oak Street, Berkeley, California 94708.

Reprinted from: New Directions for Women, 223 Old Hook Rd., Westweed, N.J. 07675

Playing the Political Game

THE MAKING OF POLITICAL WOMEN; A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict by Rita Mae Kelly and Mary Boutilier (Nelson Hall) \$16.95.

WOMEN AND THE FUTURE: Changing Sex Roles in Modern America by Janet Zollinger Giele (The Free Press) \$12.95.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN HUMAN COMMUNICATION by Barbara Westbrook Eakins and R. Gene Eakins (Houghton Mifflin) \$5.95.

Paula Kassell

Taken together, these three books tell it all — why women have been non-players in the game of politics, why many of us are no longer also-rans, and why the rest of us must alter ourselves if we want to get to first base.

Sex Differences in Human Communication discusses in great detail the female proclivity, for letting ourselves be interrupted, using qualifiers like "I wonder if," and adding tag lines like "don't you think so?" to our statements. It turns out that despite our reputation for gabbing, in mixed social gatherings and at meetings, men talk more often and speak longer at each turn. Research done in public places also showed that 96 percent of the interruptions were made by males. When someone else starts talking, women stop. The cure: keep talking.

"Every little gesture has a meaning all its own" is not just a song. In two-person conversations, the nonverbal elements communicate an estimated 65 percent of the social meaning of the situation, the words only 35 percent. Males gesture more, smile less, and expand into available space in relaxed postures while women are trying to sit, stand and walk like ladies.

The authors conclude that it will require a special, ultrasophisticated form of assertiveness training for females who want to be per-

ceived as authoritative and sure of themselves.

A similar concern is at the core of the conclusion of *Women and the Future*. But here the problem is seen as a need to develop "wholeness" — an androgynous melding of male and female images without a narrow "male" emphasis on rationality, strength or assertiveness or a narrow "female" emphasis on intuition and expressivity. Here, too, there is stress on the importance of keeping such "male" values as assertiveness and initiative in the personality constellations of women. And there is warning against the limitations on women's behavior that comes from an insufficient development of "agency" — the ability to take responsibility for one's actions in unclearly defined situations.

The Making of Political Women gets down to a thorough examination of three categories of women in politics in order to discover what they have in common and how they differ in the ways they were socialized — elect women, political wives, and revolutionaries.

For most women throughout history even the thought of competing in the political system never really occurred to them. But a minority of women in history led the feminist causes and sought political participation. Behind the research was the hypothesis that concentrating on the families of the subjects would uncover why some women broke with tradition and others, such as political wives, maintained it. The theoretical framework, which was borne out by the study, is that the making of a political woman is built on four stages of development that must be passed through in sequence and in the right order:

First, the child must develop an activist sex-role ideology; second, she must gain personal control over her life-space, gaining needed competencies and abilities to maintain control as the life-space expands; third,

politics must become personally salient to her; and fourth, at various points of the life cycle her efforts at participation must have been sufficiently rewarded and her experiences sufficiently successful to encourage her to continue.

The private women did not reach even stage one. The political women tended as a group to have passed through all four stages. The family that made this possible was crucial. The elected women came from families founded on companionate love and mutual esteem, with a basic equality between the mother and the father. Their fathers did not seem to need the dominance of a private realm to offset a feeling of impotence in the wider world. The mothers of the achieving political daughters were for the most part also unusual and sometimes famous public women, though not necessarily in politics. Their daughters accepted the idea that they could be both female and competent because their mothers refused to accept the social stigma of being "unfeminine" as a restraint on their activities.

The authors suggest a corollary effect with wide implications. Historically and currently, many liberated women have tended not to marry, not to have children, or not to raise them. Since the mother is of such critical importance as a predictor of the daughter's behavior, a major reason for the rise and fall of various feminist movements might rest right there. How lasting will be the gains made for women, the authors ask, if the raising of children is left to traditional women, while liberated women do not multiply and reproduce themselves?

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SUSAN B. ANTHONY: A NEW DOLLAR COIN

Susan B. Anthony was a great American who devoted her life to securing the right of women to vote.

Her famous call to battle was "Failure is impossible!"

This is the first time that a portrait of an American woman will appear on our coinage.



Above, Harriet Tubman, "the Moses of her people," as a young woman and in old age. Sojourner Truth (below) was a speaker whom audiences never forgot when she argued against slavery.

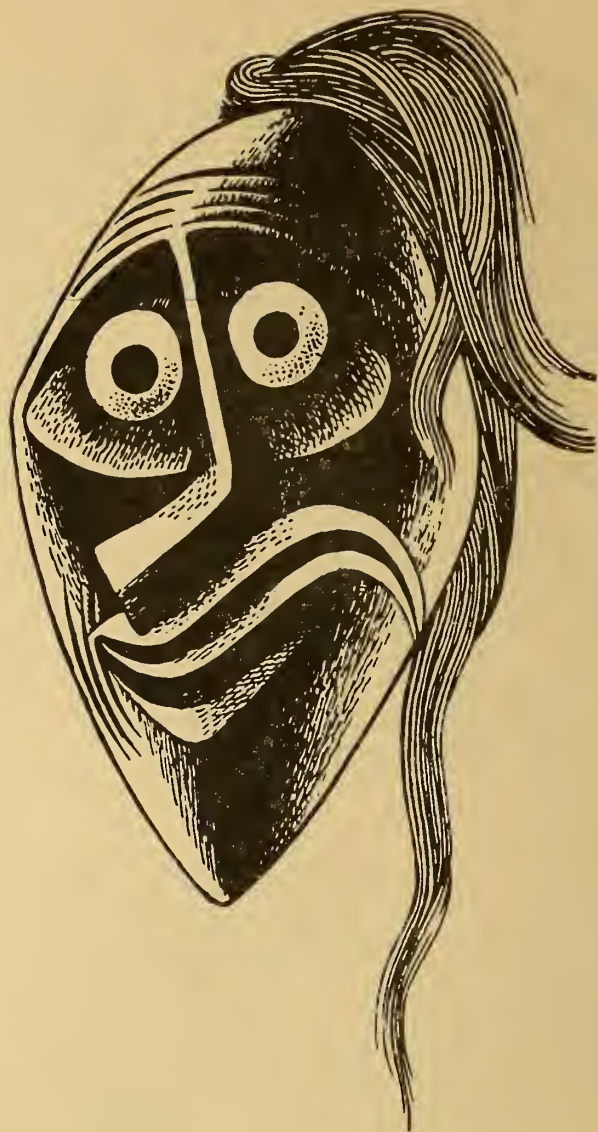


THE NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN HELD POLITICAL POWER

The most common stereotype of the American Indian squaw was that of a downcast, mute, obedient, submissive figure, laden with a heavy burden on her back, trudging a respectful distance behind her man. This stereotype was completely false, at least for the women of the Iroquois, a confederation of six tribes: The Oneida, Seneca, Mohawk, Onandaga, Cayuga and Tuscarora. The founders of the United States were amazed by their advanced political system. The noble and intelligent Iroquois had elected representatives, woman's suffrage, referendum, government by executives, and a council under a constitution. The framers of our constitution were authorities in the study of the political systems of the Indians and the concept of federalism was in part derived from the Iroquois Six Nation Confederation. The women were well known to play a strong part in major policy making. They sat in council, negotiated treaties and trading agreements, as equals with the men.

The most spectacular art works that have come down to us from the Iroquois nations are the wooden masks worn during healing ceremonies.

(Covarrubias, Miguel. *The Eagle, the Jaguar, and the Serpent: Indian Art of the Americas*. Knopf, 1954. Feder, Norma. *American Indian Art*. Abrams, 1973.)



Seneca mask of the spirit whose nose was broken by a falling mountain, New York (MAIHF);
two ancient pots, Iroquois, from Cayuga and
Madison counties, New York (MAIHF).

"Transitions: Designing for the Future As If Women Mattered" is the theme of the fourth session of the Women's School of Planning & Architecture, scheduled to be held at Regis College in Denver August 9-23. Besides the full two-week course (\$400 for room, board, and tuition), a four-day weekend program is offered (\$100). About 85 women in planning, architecture, and environmental design fields attended last year's session in Rhode Island. Topics on the informal agenda this time include the effects of land-use decisions on women's lives and the need for such special "women's environments" as birth centers and shelters for battered women. Representatives from HUD's Women's Policy and Program Division are again expected to take part. Write WSPA, Box 102, Palomar Arcade, Santa Cruz, CA 95060; or call Charlotte Strem at 408-423-8428.

QUEEN HAS SEX CHANGE

Saudi Arabia made Queen Elizabeth an "honorary male" for the duration of her state visit in February so that Arabian men would be able to treat her as an equal.

HOWEVER:

President Carter paid a state visit to Saudi Arabia last year. The Saudis did not change Mrs. Carter's sex. As a result, the First Lady was required to walk several paces behind her husband, enter the royal palace by a side door, and eat her meal with the ladies while Jimmy dined at a state dinner with the men.

(Reprinted by permission of THE
FREEWOMAN)



A scene at the polls in Cheyenne, Wyoming, as women voted in 1888. (Culver Pictures)

FROM THE EDITOR'S CORNER

An Interview with the Ambassador
by
Helen Hughes

It was a chill January day when I took myself to the American Embassy in the Hague to meet the Ambassador. I felt pleased that she had granted me an interview, delighted that a woman had been appointed to this prestigious post, and impressed at the prospect of meeting someone who was occupying the office first filled by John Adams in 1782.

Jeri Joseph is a slender, chic, handsome woman with a radiant smile and a warm unintimidating manner. I wanted to know what had brought her here, how she liked her job and, of course, her ideas on the women's movement.

Mrs. Joseph's home is Minneapolis. Her husband, Burton Joseph, flies over to stay with her for a few days each month. They have three children the youngest of whom is 21. Maintaining their separate careers at a distance of four thousand miles has been, she says, "not an enormous strain on my marriage, but a great strain on me". "I've been fascinated by what it's meant to my family, including my parents, brother and sister. You feel quite close to the processes of government."

Jeri Joseph graduated from the University of Minnesota and began a career in journalism. She wrote for the Minneapolis Tribune for eight years as a staff writer. She did interpretive reporting, covered HEW, knew a lot of political people and was familiar with legislative matters, during the period when Hubert Humphrey was Mayor of Minneapolis. She entered politics in the Democratic Farmer Labor Party and headed "Volunteers for Stevenson" in 1956. When asked to stand for election as State Chairwoman, she thought, "Would be an interesting experience--what do I have to lose?" She was elected in 1958, and in 1960 became a National Committee-woman, beginning "twelve fascinating years", involved at the national level with Humphrey and working for four Pres-



The Honorable Jeri Joseph
Ambassador to the Netherlands

idents. Her political interests have clustered around social issues (health, education, women's roles). She organized a state commission on the problem of mental illness and mental hospitals. She was President of the National Association of Mental Health. President Kennedy appointed her to a Committee on Youth Employment, President Johnson to his Commission on Income Maintenance Program, and President Carter to his Task Force on Mental Health. In 1968 she was Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. She was greatly influenced by Hubert Humphrey during those years: "Humphrey's concern for people and their problems was not ostentatious--it was real", asserts Mrs. Joseph.

Before her appointment to the Hague, she was on the Board of Directors of Carlton College, the Northwestern National Bank, Hormel Company and the Northwestern Bell Telephone Co. ("Was she a token woman on these boards?") "Well, someone has to be first. I was miffed that they had not asked other women as well. They promised to appoint another woman---and within six months they did, so there were two of us. Women on boards work very hard, they really do their homework; they know they're in the spotlight and it's a tremendous responsibility."

When only one lone woman is appointed for a long time, it's apparent that it's only tokenism. There are not many women with the qualifications similar to those of men, true, but she asks, "Why not have people with different qualifications?" She believes that as we get more and more women who move into positions at higher levels, tokenism will disappear, and women will be appointed more and more on their merits, not just because they are women.

Mrs. Joseph gives us an interesting perspective on the role of the volunteer. She allows that NOW and other feminist groups have a negative view of volunteerism, but comments: "My experience in politics was strictly volunteer and it helped enormously, it was invaluable, along with my journalism experience."

There were two strikes against her when she arrived at the American Embassy in the Netherlands: she was female and she was a political appointee, not a career diplomat. She found she had to work much harder than women who were career ambassadors, such as our people in Brussels and Finland. The men she works with were very polite at the beginning; now she is sometimes teased about her interest in the women's movement. She plans to increase the number of women and minorities on her staff.

Commenting on the traditional roles of women in Holland, Mrs. Joseph comments that the Dutch have been slow in bringing women into the labor market; they have the lowest percentage of women in the labor market of any of the EEC countries. On the other hand, she appreciates the sense of shared values. "The Dutch commitment to democratic institutions is quite similar to our own. They have been our good allies for many years", she says, adding with that luminous Jeri Joseph smile, "ever since John Adams came over here".

I felt so good when I left the interview, I walked across Lange Voorhout and treated myself to lunch at Saur's.

ERRATUM

Spring 1979 issue, page 19:

We regret that through an oversight, the names of Bonnie Cunningham and Linda Simon were omitted from our report of

the Judy Chicago Dinner Party here. Cunningham and Simon, as "Echo", performed original and folk music, vocal and guitars, to the delight of those assembled.

ABOUT THIS ISSUE'S GUEST EDITOR

Sara Mayhew Shumer is Associate Professor at Haverford College (since 1968) and has spent the 1978-79 academic year as a visiting professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz. During the Fall of 1979 she will be at Deep Springs College in Deep Springs, California.

Shumer received her B.A. from Barnard College and her Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. She was active in the civil rights and student movements at Berkeley during the 1960's and in Mississippi during 1965-66.

Her areas of interest are political theory, American political theory, contemporary American politics--and applying the first two to an understanding of the third.

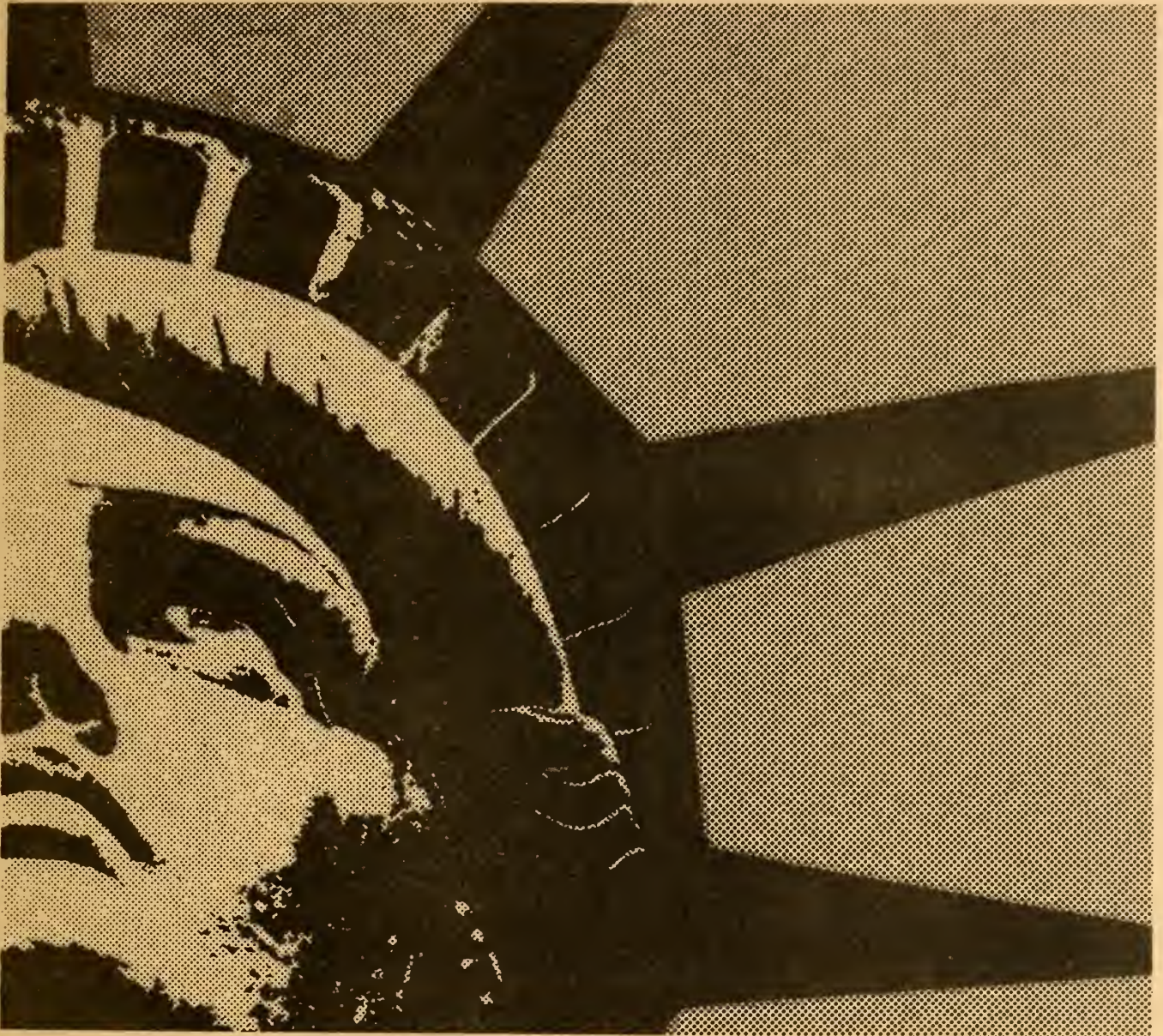
For an extended exposition of what that might mean, readers are referred to Shumer's article, "Machiavelli: Republican Politics and Its Corruption" in Political Theory, Vol.7, No. 1, February 1979, 5-34.

FUTURE ISSUES

Our Fall 1979 issue will honor the child in this International Year of the Child. Please send material (art work by children, photographs, reviews, anecdotes) to Roberta Bear who is University Professor of Early Childhood Education at Governors State University.

A change of pace will be "Women in Sailing", guest editor Bridget Marsh, for the Winter 1980 issue. Ms Marsh, a professional skipper, asserts that women are excellent pilots and captains as well as crew members and cooks. Readers with material to submit to this issue may send it to Bridget at 260a Fulham Road, London SW10 9EL, or at these editorial offices.

As always we invite your ideas, comments, encouragement and your subscription renewals.



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